

Coping with Mobility

Rethinking Regional Development in Tourism on Lolland

Bærenholdt, Jørgen Ole

Publication date:
2009

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Citation for published version (APA):
Bærenholdt, J. O. (2009). *Coping with Mobility: Rethinking Regional Development in Tourism on Lolland*. Paper presented at Nordic Geographers' Meeting, Turku, Finland.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain.
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact rucforsk@kb.dk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

COPING WITH MOBILITY:

RETHINKING REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN TOURISM ON LOLLAND

Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt

Space, Place, Mobility and Urban Studies (MOSPUS) Research Unit
& Centre for Experience Research
Department of Environmental, Social and Spatial Change (ENSPAC)
Roskilde University (RUC)
Denmark
job@ruc.dk

Keywords: Coping, governmobility, life mode, Lolland, mobility, regional change, tourism

Abstract

Work in tourism and experience economies plays a significant role on labour markets, also in peripheral areas, such as Lolland in Denmark. This paper investigates the coping modes of people engaged in performative work, in front-stage encounters with visitors. It is argued that a more process and practice oriented approach will help us understand what makes regional development that also includes tourism and other experience economy projects. Inspired from traditions of research in life form and coping strategies, it is suggested to conceptualise how people's mundane practices are engaged in regional change as a diversity of 'coping modes'. Coping modes are analysed as constructive practices made up of three dimensions: Innovation, Networking, and Formation of Identity/Meaning. Based in qualitative interviews with employees, five coping modes among these employees were found: 'Locals', 'Young mobile locals', 'Local project makers', 'Mobile specialists' and 'Settlers'. Central to their involvement in regional change is their diverse ways of governing mobility ('governmobility'). Involving contemporary theoretical debates on mobility and 'regions unbound', the paper seeks to get insights into the everyday practices and processes, making things happen. It is empirically based on analysing qualitative interviews with front stage workers and managers in three flagship attractions: The Lalandia Water Park and Holiday Centre, the Knuthenborg Safari Park, and the Medieval Centre.

Introduction

While it has become fashion in almost obligatory ways to speak of urban and regional development as something done by the creative class, this focus may well hide other sides of people's practice, no less important to how urban and regional change emerge. It is indeed refreshing that Richard Florida (2002) has managed to set an agenda, where peoples' practices and residential preferences are acknowledged as of significant importance to how and where creative change takes place. But especially in research into the role of life and work of

tourism in peripheral areas, the notion of the creative class easily become insufficient. First in theoretical terms, the crucial relations cross-cutting individuals, groups and environments that seem to be crucial for creativity, cannot be measured in terms of a class of individual actors. Second in contextual terms, the creativity spelled out in more peripheral areas may involve other types of encounters and meeting places, than those envisaged around the urban creative class. And finally, socially, it may well appear that there are creative processes, crucial to regional development through for example tourism work, going on in more tacit practices, among people many would not normally associate with the creative class. There are clearly differences between tourism focused on experiences-in-place and the more specialised creative industries, producing at a distance (about this distinction see Bærenholdt and Sundbo, 2007). It is therefore interesting to have a closer look into what goes on in the relations among inhabitants, workers and specialists – and their various coping modes - involved in tourism work in more peripheral areas, here Lolland.

Tourism is not the hype of regional development. In the debates on the experience economy in Denmark, tourism tends to belong to the margin. It is typical for research, political debates and not least those on peripheral areas, that tourism is most often the last thing thought of among factors and practices crucial to the making of societies and their regional development. This is paradoxical, since tourism obviously has been at the centre stage of highly constitutive practices such as exploration, construction of transport connections and other facilities, and the formation of imaginations of regions and nations (see Bærenholdt, 2007, chap. 6). Meanwhile, tourism has often been seen as a kind of external force and threat that people need to cope with. Boisevain in his edited book *Coping with Tourists* (1996) addresses such concerns, but it is interesting that Selwyn in the postlude found that ‘the ability of “hosts” to provide some cultural space for tourists while simultaneously preserving other, more private, spaces for themselves that gives them the capacity to “cope with tourists”’ (Selwyn, 1996, p. 249). In contrast to the concerns of many academics on behalf of hosts, it is also on Lolland the case that tourism has now become a normal part of life. Tourism work is an integrated part of regional and local labour markets.

The problem is more the other way around: How to make more contact with tourists? While many tourist attractions traditionally would leave the direct contact with visitors to marginal service jobs in the organisation, it is a characteristic feature of the business strategies of the three attractions studied here, that they all tend to use and concentrate much of their effort on performing direct encounters with tourists. Performative work therefore plays a significant role, and to the employees this work has both costs in terms of stress and awards in the form of recognition (see Bærenholdt and Jensen, forthcoming).

In other words: tourists are coped with in two senses: There is an aspect of coping *tactics*, of how to live with tourists, especially in keeping the pace in performative work. But there is certainly also coping *strategies* aiming more instrumentally at ‘getting something out of’ tourists, and both concepts - strategies and tactics - are included in the concept of coping (Bærenholdt, 2007, p. 2).

From this introduction, the paper first develops theoretical debates on regional development and modes of life, to suggest the analysis of coping modes. Then the empirical context and the methods of research are described. The main parts of the paper analyse five modes of coping in the three dimensions of innovation, networking and formation of identity. The conclusion discuss in what sense the analysis of coping modes make us understand regional change

better, answering the research question: *What are the coping modes involved in tourism-based regional change on Lolland, and how do they contribute to regional development?*

From life modes to coping modes

An overall theoretical approach behind this paper comes from a broad tradition for studying life modes and everyday life. This has been developed in social geography, ethnology, and related fields since the 1980's (see for example Bærenholdt, 1991; Buciek, 1996; Højrup, 1983; Simonsen, 2005). It is an approach that was also used in the study of life modes in Lolland in the 1980's (Hjalager, 1987; Sørensen and Vogelius, 1988). Especially in the works, inspired by - but also critical to the structuralism in - Højrup's *Det glemte folk* (1983), there was a search for more contextual understandings of how people's modes of life contributes to regional development (Bærenholdt, 1991; Sørensen and Vogelius, 1988, see also Illeris, 2007, pp. 253-4). From intensive studies among former workers at the shipyard in Nakskov, Sørensen and Vogelius showed how workers were not only wage-labourers to whom work is only an instrument to gain incomes for a life elsewhere. Strong values, tacit knowledge and pride were associated with being a shipyard worker, even after the shipyard had been closed down. And it is, among others, these traditions of work that has been reinvented in today's production of wind mills in Nakskov. Numerous studies on Lolland followed on, and pointed to the meaning of labour traditions on Lolland, based on Lolland's specific agricultural structures dominated by estates rather than self-owned farmers.

It was also the quality of the modes of life tradition that it looked on the relations between life modes, addressing both empirically and theoretical how encounters between different lived cultures take place. However, much of the modes of life tradition tended to focus on primary and secondary industry work, often important in the peripheries studied. Like in other branches of social science, tourism and new 'experience economies' at that time had less attention. This is the first background to this paper: To pursue an understanding of the various modes of life involved in tourism work in a relative peripheral area.

But there was also another, more principal, weakness in the approach. Modes of lives tended to become described as rather stabile, if not static, routines, in approximately the same ways as in the concept of 'habitus' in Bourdieu (1977, see also Bærenholdt 1998). So if modes of life change, from where does change occur? This has also to do with the problem in explaining in more detail how modes of life contribute to the making of regional development if not of societies at large. In Højrup's original approach the 'solution' to this problem was that of a rather coherent structuralist system of classes, each with their position in the relation of modes of production of capitalism and what he called 'simple commodity production'. Thus, a connection was established, but it was not a very dynamic or open one. Critical discussions of Højrup's work propelled a stream of more contextual studies into the historical geographies of regional and social change. While social geography works (Bærenholdt, 1991; Sørensen and Vogelius, 1988) showed how modes of lives contributed to settlement decisions and settlement structures, and to certain localised capabilities of labour; a broader approach combining households, business and politics into locality studies were suggested with the notion of coping strategies (Bærenholdt and Aarsæther, 1998; Bærenholdt and Aarsæther, 2002; Bærenholdt and Haldrup, 2003; Nordfeldt and Stenbacka, 2008).

Coping was defined as '*mastering of possibilities, or more concrete; how people engage in strategies which make sense to themselves*' (Bærenholdt and Aarsæther, 1998, p. 30, original

emphasis). In order to study such coping practices in an open framework across the economic, social and cultural, three dimensions were defined: Innovation, Networking and Formation of Identities (Aarsæther and Bærenholdt, 2001, p. 23). Coping processes were studied across distinctions between households, civil societies, businesses and politics. The sense making part, how meaning or identity is becoming, carried on the inspiration from life mode studies. Likewise with networking across social fields where life modes studies had shown how networks differ in different modes of life. The new aspect was to put more emphasis on the socio-economics of change in economic structures in response to transformations in an increasingly globalizing and knowledge-based economy. Further qualifications were added with the double set of double concepts of mobility-territoriality and bonding-bridging (Bærenholdt and Aarsæther, 2004; Bærenholdt, 2007).

The coping approach thus came to approach and acknowledge a world with mobility and connections working at-a-distance. As such it shares ideas and an approach with the new kinds of relational geographies addressing the complexities of economies, sociality, politics and cultures, as suggested by Ash Amin in his article 'Regions Unbound: Towards a New Politics of Place' (2004). Amin challenges too territorialised understandings of how regional development and politics works, as he seek to develop 'a politics of place that is consistent with a spatial ontology of cities and regions seen as sites of heterogeneity juxtaposed with close spatial proximity, and as sites of multiple geographies of affiliation, linkage and flow' (Amin, 2004, p. 38). Emerging is an image of a regional world of connections but also of more intense, smaller than regions and cities, meeting places. From this it can be suggested that tourist attractions are among such sites, also drawing connections along which people travel. Conceptually and methodologically there is also another consequence: Coping practices or processes can hardly any more be analysed as a matter of what certain localities do or just what happens in certain localities; the units of analysis and comparison becomes more complex and includes the lives of people living in several places etc. (Bærenholdt and Aure, 2007).

It thus becomes a question how to study the 'multiple geographies of affiliation, linkage and flow' (Amin, 2004, p. 38, see above) as relations practiced in people's coping. This paper suggests to reuse the idea of approaching *different* modes - but now as *coping modes*, that can be associated with particular practices of specific people, like life modes, but also focus on the specific kinds of constructiveness in the coping practices in the three dimensions: Innovation, Networking and Formation of Identity. The approach is thus not only 'from below' in the sense of a locality approach, but in also addressing the coping of people as they combine the spectrum of household activities with businesses and politics. Such an approach to coping has been developed in studies with also a feminist inspiration (as in works by Marit Aure, for example 2001).

Coping Modes are thus conceptualizations of *specific* (as compared to both unique and general) findings. It puts an emphasis on what people do and how they make do. But it systematises this into concepts casting light on *how specific kinds of relations are practiced* and what are the *generative* outcomes of these processes. Or to say it in Foucauldian rather than Barthian ways (see Bærenholdt, 2007, chapter 2), coping modes should entail the genealogies of how specific events and phenomena come into being, change and reappear, such as cultural attractions on Lolland. How is it that people together with themselves, other people and their environments govern their lives productively to make change and stability that somehow make sense to themselves? This way we hopefully get insights into the processes *making things happen*, thereby also making a difference. I mentioned Barth's

generative approach - and even more fit - Foucault's genealogy to hint at these processes and relations being more than just the individual, subjective, projects of people. Coping modes imply certain kinds of governmentality – or better 'governmobility' (Bærenholdt, 2008) – explaining how the specific ways people organise and govern themselves is also bound to and embedded in power relations, this way unfolded. As we will see in the analysis, coping modes have different ways of governing various mobilities, across innovation, networking and formation of identity.

Methods and methodology

This article is based on qualitative interviews with 25 front stage workers (seven at the Medieval Centre, nine at Lalandia and nine at Knuthenborg). It is also informed by four interviews with managers and to a lesser extend diary entries, literature about the businesses, participant observation in the field, conversations with guests, employees and volunteers, as well as presentational seminars held at the three businesses. We (I and research assistant¹) wanted a direct dialogue with the workers. Therefore primary data are the qualitative interviews with workers, of 1-2 hours duration, during summer 2007.

Our selection criteria in relation to the worker interviews were, first and foremost, to emphasize the most obvious frontline functions in the businesses, meaning that we examined the groups who are especially responsible for customer service and performance. In keeping with the principals of qualitative methods we have collected a wealth of multi-faceted material, focusing on these groups. Thus, the second criterion of choice was variation. We wanted to interview people of different ages, of different gender, from Lolland and outside of Lolland, and with differing types of front stage functions.

Variation in age could only be partially fulfilled, as it was soon obvious that a definite age group was dominant in frontline functions in each firm: Though there were some exceptions, we interviewed workers in their 40's in the Medieval Centre, in their 30's in Knuthenborg and in their 20's in Lalandia (the last is a conscious policy). Of our 29 interviewees 11 are women (none of these in management). The material includes interviewees from both Lolland and outside, and it also covers very different social and occupational positions within the three attractions.

Analysing the interviews for this article, I searched for the more 'thickly' spelled out evaluations and visions. In ordering these in relation to the idea of coping modes, more or less all interviewees could be associated with a specific coping mode. As in the case of life modes, most of this could be understood on the background of their social position, educational background and age. Furthermore, the distinction between 'mobiles' and 'locals', as seen elsewhere (Bærenholdt, 1998) came out as significant, and not at least in the reflections among the interviewees themselves. Most people can easily explain how mobile or local the relations, they are involved in, are. But in coping with this distinction, it became obvious that they are also more nuanced and detailed aspects in how mobility and locality is combined into

¹ Hanne Louise Jensen, since March 2008 a PhD student in the Department of Environmental, Social and Spatial Change, Roskilde University. The work was carried out within the EU Social Fund project 'Oplevelsesøkonomi og regional udvikling på Lolland: Beskæftigelse, Livsformer og Stedstransformation' from 2006 to March 2008, administered by the Centre for Leisure Management Research, CEUS, Nykøbing F and other parts of this research is reported in other publications, including Bærenholdt and Jensen, 2007, 2008 (the main, detailed, report in Danish) and forthcoming.

certain governmobilities. Having grouped interviewees into five coping modes, the analysis in this paper is structured by addressing and detailing constructive practices of innovation, networking and formation of identity within each of coping modes. The written analysis below gives priority to a few interviewees in each mode of coping, selected because of the explicit reflexivity expressed. In other words: Coping modes are seen as constructive practices, that also involves the explanation by people why and how they engage in practices (or strategies) making sense to themselves.

Situated research is the overall methodology followed here. The approach is neither ideographic description, nor nomothetic tests of theories. It is research in search of contextual knowledge, which is always partial (Bærenholdt and Aure, 2007). There are no claims of holistic validity, the approach is more heuristic. It is theoretically informed and also seeks to develop theoretical interpretation. But let us start with a first presentation of the context, before coming to the analysis.

The empirical context

Lolland – along with Falster - has often been considered to be on the periphery of Denmark having relatively high unemployment and a more elderly population. It has therefore also qualified for EU support. Indeed, since 1980s, EU regional policy has played an important role in putting tourism higher on the agenda in the area (Meged, 1999). Against this background, this paper investigates coping modes among employees in three flagship, tourist attractions in the area. Though very different from each other, all the three attractions originally broke existing business patterns, through entrepreneurship in the making of tourist attractions that have no or only a few ties to the legacy of Lolland (Bærenholdt and Jensen, 2008). Since these three attractions, each in their way, have made a difference in tourism of regional importance in a relative peripheral area, they are interesting contexts for research in coping modes in regional development.

Knuthenborg Park and Safari has been an estate since the 16th century and it is owned by the Knuth family. Part of the land was transformed into a British style park in the second part of the 19th century and is unique outside the British Isles. Visitors already began to arrive in the first part of 20th century, but it only became an important tourist attraction when the count turned it into a Safari Park in the 1970s to find new ways of financing the estate and park, in addition to agriculture and other businesses (Bjørn, 1999). Today, it employs 180 workers during the high season, corresponding to 110-120 full years' work for one person.

Lalandia (the Latin for Lolland) was opened by quite a different type of entrepreneur from Jutland and the local mayor in 1988. It quickly became bankrupt, and was consequently taken over by banks, and is now owned by Parken Sport and Entertainment. It is a water park and holiday centre and was originally constructed together with 636 small holiday houses that were later sold to private owners but rented out through Lalandia. It has a large in-door centre which in addition to the water park includes various restaurants, bowling, ice-skating and other sports and playground facilities. It employs approximately 350 people which is the equivalent of 220 full year's work for one person. It is Lalandia's conscious policy to employ many young people in frontline jobs in order to support its 'active and sporty' image. Lalandia has been very important to local development (Lærkegård et al., 2006).

The *Medieval Centre* is not a business in the traditional sense; it started out as a project in connection with Nykøbing F.'s 700 year town jubilee in 1989. It focussed on medieval artillery, the trebuchet, and a medieval technology centre was created with support from various foundations and the EU (Gerner Nielsen, 1992). It was established as an independent institution in 1992. The centre does not have the resources that government museum approval would give. It is an example of the many project driven enterprises that have spread throughout the cultural economy. It is based in the idea of re-enacting life 610 years ago, meaning that employees and volunteers in 'the field' perform 'life at that time'. Less than ten people are employed all the year around and six central enactment characters are employed for the summer season. In addition, there are labour training projects and there is a crucial contribution made by (a total list of 300-400) volunteers, staying for around a week during the summer (Bærenholdt and Jensen, 2007).

Coping practices of people employed in these three attractions are approached as significant contributors to tourism-based regional development on Lolland. Not only the number of jobs and amount of voluntary work involved - but also the more qualitative ways in which these attractions are constantly remade through the engagement and efforts of employees are seen as contributions to regional development.

'Locals'

'Locals' is meant to include those that may work in the tourism businesses, but their primary attachment is rather with the local area, which can be rather large in scale on Lolland, meaning living and feeling at home on Lolland as such or in for example the Mid Lolland area around Maribo and Rødby. It is a coping mode that has the site of dwelling and the local family and other social networks as the nexus of living. 'Locals' engaged in tourism are actively taking part in making businesses better, since they see tourism provide their area with new qualities and attractions both for locals and for visitors. Though not typically employed in top management, their jobs can be at any level in the business organisations. To some 'locals' the only real conflict is that their possibilities for a further career conflict with living on Lolland. If they cannot move their home, they can hardly move or even advance in the labour market.

'Locals' work for their local area or region; at a certain level a local, regional or a municipal 'we' is tacitly implied when it comes to *innovation*. A middle-aged woman said this:

'Well, I really think tourism can contribute with a lot. The only thing is that we [!] need to make our roads work OK. Like all other municipalities, we have problems with tying up down here. And we should see to increase the prices on houses, so that we do not get all them from Vesterbro, Østerbro, Nørrebro [central neighbourhoods in Copenhagen, originally working class] or what are there names. Here, I do not know Copenhagen so well...,[Interviewer: no, no, no], so that all the cheap houses can get away. ...(...) ... You could easily extend activities precisely on Lolland, since it is so flat – and with the estates and like that. It would be great to do a kind of round trip to estates on bicycle...' (X:16 (p.61))²

² Single Capital letters refers to interviewees, the number to page number in the transcription. All interviews were in Danish, quotes for this article has been translated by the author. The Danish version of these quotes can all be found in Bærenholdt and Jensen, 2008 at page number indicated in bracket.

This woman has had various service jobs, and she has also attended courses in tourism. She is suggesting new products and infrastructures for tourism, but she is also engaging in what has been a long lasting political debate. Lolland being peripheral on labour markets have experienced welfare clients from Copenhagen moving out to (in to) Lolland, since houses are so cheap to buy, and they then become what is seen as a burden to the welfare budgets of municipalities on Lolland. Therefore it has been a policy simply to remove such empty houses, to avoid this kind of 'social migration'. It should not necessarily be seen as a hostile attitude to strangers from a city, said to be not so well known. Worries are more about the welfare costs on one side, and on the other side on how attractive environments are then becoming for tourists and other visitors. Much of the local/regional 'we' is performed exactly on such agendas.

Furthermore, the use of the collective 'we' could be seen as a performance of a certain kind of working class tradition. However, this might be a stereotype, which was also present in earlier discussions of life modes on Lolland (Hjalager, 1987; Sørensen and Vogelius, 1988). In the popular use of Højrup's (1983) concept of the wage-labour mode of life, this was the life mode of the people to whom work was only a means to live outside of work and where entrepreneurship should come from people of higher classes or larger businesses. Though there is something in this image, given the feudal history around estates and the history of ship yards etc., it is also a problematic stereotype (see Sørensen and Vogelius, 1988 and earlier section, for the critical discussion). As we saw in the quote above, 'locals' do think about innovation, also in tourism, but with the flavour of collective and politically led innovation.

To the 'locals' most forms of *networking* belong to another sphere than work. In their leisure time, people see family and friends, both locally and from other areas. People are happy and talk much of their friends. Sociality is primary, and it has a priority and meaning, that surpass working life.

'...Really many friends. [Interviewer: Seeing them sometimes during the week or in week-ends?]. ...It is more and more mostly in week-ends. And we all looking forward to become pensioners, because then we will meet during the week, have a sandwich with herring [*en sildemad*] and then we will play cards.' (X: 14 (p. 57))

Compared to more professional networks, the kinds of networking practiced among 'locals' are genuinely social; sociability is the purpose itself. Networking is *not* instrumental to obtain objectives in strategic agendas, although this may also become the case, but not from intention. It is thus classical *social* networks, and it is very important to acknowledge how constructive they are in making the fabric of life in the local area and region. Without this being the purpose, genuine social networks produce crucial forms of social cohesion from below.

Social networks of this type are also played out in working life and in relation to working life. They play a significant role in the 'local' mode of coping, where networks across family, locality and work place cross-cut. One example of this is when employees in a department of one of the attractions regularly meet in their 'dinner club' at home. Here social networks across family, work place and locality are combined, thus making crucial connections, important not only to their work place, but also to the local and regional development.

The formation of identity among 'locals' can take many forms, but it is important to highlight that we are not only talking about taken for granted, traditionally 'community-like', identities - but about reflexive identity making. This is for example obvious when interviewees explained why they live on Lolland and more precisely where on Lolland. Several interviewees have lived most of their life on Lolland, where it matters less if one lives in one town or the other. The attachment to the area is of course a matter of the networking practices, discussed above. But it also a reflexive choice built on the experiences of having visited and in periods lived in other areas. People are living where they live in meaningful ways, exactly because they know about life possibilities in other places. This is not an 'othering' process, where they cannot understand the choice of others. It is rather a simple – but very explicit – evaluation of what they think is best for themselves and their loves.

Identifying with Lolland can be strong among 'locals'. Few 'locals' have further education, and among the interviewed there are only 'locals' over 40 years of age (see next section on 'Young mobile locals'). A male worker that has had very many jobs through his entire life said:

'I am going to stay here, that is 100%, I have lived both in [a place in Jutland] and I have lived in [a place on Zealand]; my family and my friends they are down here. And there is something just saying to me: you have to go back again, that's where I feel best. It is nice to get out, but Lolland, it is in fact the best place, I think. The way we are towards each other, yes...[Interviewer: How is this...?]. Yes, how is it? Yes many tourists, I talk to, they think we are wonderfully open, that is we are good in receiving people, when they come from outside.' (P:23 (p.62))

Identity formation is here going on in direct relation to the outsider; defining oneself in relation to visitors (including the interviewer). In this mode of coping there is also embedded a certain kind of optimism, that things will go all right; tourists will continue to come and industries will come sooner or later. Such a feeling is combined with practical reflections on mobility possibilities, typically explaining to the outsider, that they feel quite near to Copenhagen, much more near than people in Copenhagen may feel to Lolland.

'Then, I do think it is lovely down here, and it is in fact not so far away, ... I have had this feeling for many years, but after we got the last piece of motor way from Rønnede and down – and there are also more and more people from the city buying house and commuting ...' (D:23 (p. 63))

As can be seen among many interviewees, across coping modes, Copenhagen – the city – is important to relate to identity vice. Talking to an interviewer from Roskilde/Copenhagen – and from university - interviewees somehow feel they need to explain their place of living, also using the geographical metaphors of 'down here'. But this form of identification also has to do with more general connotations and stereotypes among other coping modes (see later), that Lolland is peripheral, flat, producing sugar beet, not so interesting and with little entrepreneurship. 'Locals' consciously cope with such stereotypes and define the meaning of life, also in response to the identifications among other people's modes of coping. While mobile practices, moving to other places, visiting people and sites other places, receiving visitors and going on holidays, are central aspects of the 'locals' coping mode, it does also imply a way of governing these mobilities where the qualities of living on Lolland are highlighted, also as attractions to tourists and other visitors. The pride of being a 'local' is

therefore also something performed in meeting visitors, to 'sell Lolland' innovatively and, in doing so, make sense of ones own coping mode.

'Young mobile locals'

'Young mobile locals' cope with ambivalences of being a youngster and do more or less temporary work while also taking or considering various routes of education. A significant part of the labour force in front stage service jobs in tourism is comprised of youngsters in part-time jobs, also seasonal jobs. They are typically youngsters grown up in the area, started to work part-time in teen-age years and working in shifting amounts as it fits their movement back and forth to the place where they grew up. Some are students in Copenhagen and other areas of education, and they will come 'home' to parents in week-ends and holidays to take work in for example Lalandia, but also other attractions. Others are in kinds of 'sabbatical' years considering their future; some have already been away trying out the typical Danish folk high school for a year or other routes of education. In our sample of interviewees, this mode of coping is typically found among youngsters in the beginning of their 20s. It is important to notice that this group is an absolutely central labour force in tourist industries, since they are able to perform service jobs in restaurants and activities, also at 'non-normal' working hours. It is also from this group we find one of the central pieces of participant observation research about performative work among waiters (P. Crang, 1994, 1997).

In relation to *innovation*, some of these 'young mobile locals' are very enthusiastic in their professional engagement with performing their service work well. A young male student explained he asked to have a job with more contact with guests.

'This was where I think I got the greatest experience together with visitors. And really had contact to them, and could help dealing with problems...' (H:6 (p.28))

For young service workers, shaping experiences to visitors is also an experience for themselves. The acknowledgement from visitors is important to the meaning of work for 'young mobile locals'. They also consciously try to unfold creative suggestions into how experiences could be better facilitated. One young female engages much in making the environment in the water park attractive to visitors, but she is also very attentive to the response from visitors.

'...and then this thing shaping the water park, I really see it as a kind of paradise in there, that's what I am thinking that it is. The Lagoon and that kind of stuff, with palms and the like, and some they can also enter into the spirit of it and others have difficulties in doing so; they go into details of whether flowers are made of plastic. But I think it is better we give them a good experience than thinking too much of whether it is plastic flowers or not, it is something people can be crazily small-minded about. But there are also those that are really open minded and easy to delight. For example the other day, when I entered with some child drinks, adults were totally eager and wouw – and they thought it was fantastic with all those drinks and colours...' (N:10 (p. 30))

This young service worker have very many creative ideas into small innovations in making experiences better, but she does acknowledge that their success depends totally on the ability of visitors to take part in performing experiences. She is one of the interviewees having

worked in two of the attractions, studied in this paper. In the Knuthenborg Safari Park she tried to use her creative qualifications to design new more fancy uniforms for service workers.

‘...I think, experiences get different, instead of a person working in green or blue uniform – I worked in the grill myself – and the staff there, I thought, they should wear aprons with zebra stripes or something like that, one would enter into the spirit of it, for I really think, it does make something very different...’ (N:11 (p.41))

This eager engagement with entering into the spirit of things, making experiences better together with visitors, embeds an innovative mode of coping. Freshness and open mindedness in order to engage in doing things better is a quality, that is not only a resource for the firms, but also for people themselves in making sense of their work and life.

Meanwhile, ‘young mobile locals’ engage in *networking* relations cross-cutting work and leisure - and near and far - in ways not so different from the practices of ‘locals’. However, youngsters in their networking perform interesting mobility modes and meeting places. First of all they tend to live in several places, for example dividing their time between a dormitory or small flat in Copenhagen and their parents’ home, eventually this can be more than one place, if parents are divorced or moved. Networking works across these places and distances. Secondly, youngsters from Lolland living in Copenhagen have kinds of ‘diaspora’ like meeting places, such as the football club FC Nyhavn. And thirdly, this community is a mobile one, since it also involves meeting old friends when back home at Christmas, where youngsters – from Mid Lolland - tend to go to the same Mona bar in Maribo on 26 December. Finally, the work place is itself a place of networking, and in Lalandia this is not only in working hours, since the Lalandia centre facilities (sports and pubs) is also a meeting place for youngsters in their leisure time.

Lolland is a kind of transit place, where many youngsters know they are not going to stay for ever, especially those with carrier ambitions know this means to move away. But this does not make the attachment to Lolland weaker; although on the way somewhere, this is the place they came from and many of them return from time to time, not only to visit family – but also to have temporary and/or part-time work along side other, including educational, activities.

Identity formation for youngsters from Lolland is much about place and mobility. Moving away is associated with moving up socially. Furthermore, there is a feeling that things move anyway, so it is better to jump on ‘the train’.

‘all of those I had good contacts with, they moved to Copenhagen, and then it was a little “what should I then do down here, when large parts of that network have moved on anyway”, so I was thinking a little like this: “I want an education, and they are in there anyway, and there are many, I know well, then I better move as well and get that education, I want to get anyway” ‘ (L:4 (p.64))

This way, the ‘young mobile locals’ is on board a certain scape towards Copenhagen with friends and education. Certain identities and value hierarchies are played out in this route. Even if interviewees like to live on Lolland, like ‘locals’, they will move for a while, although there is also the risk not making do in Copenhagen.

‘...and it could be that if one is not taking part in all in the metropolis, then many would look as one is odd [*kigge skævt*], thinking “such as bumpkin [*bonderøv*]” or the

like, while down here, people are more calm, taking things as they come...' (L:2 (p. 64))

Youth ambivalences in relation to place are strong. The other side is this:

'so Lolland-Falster it is ... it is a cosy place, but there is too much – talk, well, and one gets tired of it, so this thing about getting away or going to the metropolis – or in folk high school, it will help a lot, so that you come away from all this..' (N:15 (p.65))

Individuals may choose different sides at different times of their life, but the ambivalences are there anyway. Many regard both Lolland and Copenhagen as temporary places of life, and the kind of temporary service work they do in tourism fits well to this situation. But it is important to stress, that the networking practices performed across these places and identity projects can very well play an innovative role, especially in the long run. Youngsters make connections that may become very important in the businesses – and also politics – of the future, of course we cannot document this. Meanwhile 'young mobile locals' already today is a key labour force to perform encounters with visiting tourists.

'Local project makers'

Entrepreneurship in peripheries – or semi-peripheries – is often difficult for locals, not at least in tourism. But it is interesting that on Lolland we find a number of locals that have been so much embedded in realising projects – for example making the Medieval Centre – that it becomes difficult to clarify the distinction between person and project. 'Local project makers' can be people that have been away to educate themselves and build up competences, returning to make use of this in the area they came from, but it can also be people more like 'locals', who, following periods of unemployment or the like, engaged in entrepreneurial projects. For example becoming one of central characters performing enactment work in the Medieval Centre, has changed life completely for some. They so to say become new persons, where performative work has changed their life to the extent that they also depend on doing – or rather 'being' – performance. This is clearly expressed this way by one of the enactors:

'They will have to carry me away from here. To be buried under the small trebuchet' (B:27 (p. 67))

Also people that developed their skills in medieval technology as a kind of hobby suddenly experience that their skills and knowledge are in demand. These are stories about *innovation* in the form of certain forms of embodied, tacit, knowledge.

'There are not many in the world with much insight in how armour functions. There are some professors, but they still do not know much. What makes it special, is that when you ride knight tournaments that are authentic, meanwhile also making armours, then you understand better how they function... We have an armour smith in there in Copenhagen and he is extremely skill full and his work is enormously ('*kanont*') beauty full, but the equipment he makes – he has made some for us – it does not fit well, when you have to ride. He misses some insight into how it works in practice. Therefore I think it works fine, when people phone me from many places, museums and the like, being in doubt about something, has it worked etc. then one gets the chance to be little professor like and intellectual – wondering "is this really me?"

(Interviewer: Yes) Hello I am just ... I have just been interested in this, since I was a kid, then it is funny that one can reach such a level, where others ask for advice. This is terrific ('*vildt*') isn't it...(.)...the cost has been nothing apart from pleasure and delight, and I think this is funny...' (E:19 (p. 42))

Genuine interests in for example medieval armour cross-cut various jobs and experiences, enabling the former jockey to develop new competences and free lance work. The amount of engagement performed is also so high that it may have other costs, since the dependence on constant recognition and rewards can become difficult to cope with personally. Much of the innovation performed here is highly embodied and personal. But we do also see cases where innovation is more in the social form, of doing something good for young people or the like. In it self, the Medieval Centre's development is very much the story of the local archaeologist coming back to realise his project where he came from. A project that has also created a number a labour training programs etc. creative both for the people engaged to grow with new competences and for the development of the Medieval Centre. This way personal development, social innovation and tourist attraction creation under certain circumstances can go hand in hand. And there seems to be something about performative work in tourism that facilitates the kinds of pride and engagement, so central to 'local project makers'. The rather public character – the public awareness – around the making of tourist attractions implies multi-facetted kinds of recognition involved. Recognition comes not only from management or visitors – but also from locals, neighbours, politicians, local businesses and the like.

Developing attractions such as the Medieval Centre also involves a very high level of *networking* among employees at several levels, across distinctions between director, specialists and enactors. Some 'locals project makers' involved in this has moved up, meaning that they are not only performing enactment work, but also organise such work. One of the permanent employees explained her opinion about the relation between the local area and the world this way as one of possibilities. Being a local...

'...It is so easy. But I definitely do not think that you get stolid from this reason (being a local). Because. With this job, you tear about, travelling, we are going to meetings, we are doing this and this... So, I am much away. Really much away. So it is.... OK. ...It is international you know, it is Europe, Norden and – all these places. Because we have cooperation with other museums, members of different organisations, eh.. And... we are well known. So we are doing a lot, having EU project and that. Cooperating with other businesses, so we have also travelled around to them (F:7 (p.66))

Much of this can also be supported from our observations at the Medieval Centre, where people are constantly on the move. It is an activist project organisation. But there is no doubt that much of the same goes for the two other attractions as well, when one looks beyond the style. However, the Medieval Centre is a significant context for 'local project makers', since it is a project in the constant re-making, not at all as stable as other businesses like Knuthenborg or Lalandia. Employees are constantly fighting for their place, job and person. And networking of various kinds has been absolutely crucial to shape the Centre, not at least the combination of having good connections both to politicians and to the professional field internationally. Various EU projects come into being in the combination of such networks.

This way, networking and innovation is very much tied up with strong forms of identification with the project. *Formation of identity* goes on all the time. 'Local project makers' live from the meaningfulness of their efforts. It is also, again, personally absolutely vital to them.

‘And it is simply so giving to meet at work and talk to the guests present here. If you – could get these kinds of experience I have got from going to work in the form of pills one could cure many illnesses...’ (B:2 (p.37))

The job satisfaction in experiencing the recognition from visitors goes along with other positive sides of networking activities, namely that you get to know people from many countries from international meetings and the like. Talking about networking at work, the same enactor said:

‘Yes, I am sure, if I would go to Italy, I just have to find a number then there will definitely be possibilities of private accommodation down there. (Interviewer: Yes). Or Netherlands or Sweden, England, Skotland.... Germany. It is so Such a great (*‘fed’*) situation, one has come into, since you have so many opportunities to use – as you said – the network you’ve got. It is just to do it. It is terrific (*‘vildt’*). It cannot be described, you have to try it.’ (B:2 (p. 55))

Though little is said about how much the interviewee actually tries opportunities out outside of work, the important thing is the feeling of a larger world, where you are at home. The coping modes of ‘local project makers’ are not those of traditional entrepreneurs in business. This case of entrepreneurship is much more social and cultural than business driven. Some of the persons do only have seasonal occupation, others have managed to get a permanent position, but they are somehow wage labours anyway. In this way with their creativity, so important to realising their project, they may challenge some assumptions of who is the ‘creative class’ (see Introduction). These are people with little formal education and with various work and unemployment experiences in their past. ‘Local project makers’ is thus a significant coping mode, but also a vulnerable one. Their success depends almost totally on the destiny of the projects to which they have invested also their own destiny.

‘Mobile specialists’

Together with ‘local project makers’ there is another entrepreneurial and creative coping mode, but this one is more as expected (in terms of creative class). Apart from a few, these are people that have moved to – or commute to - the job on Lolland, based on their professional qualifications gained from their education. For these people, it is the job and the challenges around it that have attracted them. The job working with animals at Knuthenborg or with history enactment at the Medieval Centre is a primary identity. Some specialists have an academic degree in the relevant field of specialization, while others have specialist training as for example animal keepers. Many ‘mobile specialists’ talk about Lolland in the sort of stereotypic sense that ‘locals’ cope with (see above). They talk of locals and Lolland as ‘the other’ – ‘they’.

‘Ah, as an in-mover, it would really like to shake them up. I have this a little this way, coming with this attitude, that I would never live on Lolland-Falster, and then I ended up here, and I have nothing against staying here. I might move back to the city, I could imagine, someday, when going on pension. If I can move. It might be that I end up in the local rest home in [place name] or [place name], you never know. But I think they should be shaken up. I think they should find ways to find out, what are their attractions – and then – you see TV commercials from Himmerland (another part of

Denmark) about summer holidays: Come up to us – Why do we never see this down here? They have a castle island in the middle of the Maribo lakes, with a fantastic culture or stories about wars. They have remains of suspension bridges and fortresses, and what do they do? Let plants grow, closes it, in stead of restoration and making it an attraction' (S:50 (p.69))

The mobile specialist, having moved in, has explored several attractive environments that she feels locals want to hide for themselves. It is obvious that this specialist has placed herself in a hybrid situation, where she is not yet part of the local 'we' when she speaks to the interviewer – but she also acknowledges that this place might have become her destiny. Her passion is not to be a regional developer but to engage in the professional field of her on the level of international organisations and networks. But these professional engagements are also absolutely crucial to the business ambitions of her work place. *Innovation* in specialist areas is thus much connected to *networking* in international conferences and the like. Here there are strict priorities to be made. Professional events are more important than personal events, and the conferences chosen are those most instrumental to performing the development functions in her job. In a sense, this coping mode is like what Højrup (1983) called the 'carrier oriented' life mode. It is full of ambition job wise. But there is more to it. 'Mobile specialists' also tend to be a kind of nerds, totally personally engaged from maybe even their childhood in their interest in animals, history, armour or the like.

This may go more for Knuthenborg and the Medieval Centre, than for Lalandia where the professional pride is more in service management. Knuthenborg and the Medieval Centre are increasingly profiling their attraction around their professional skills, also internationally competitive. Here, professional networks are the *sine qua none*. Hiring a professional also means to hire at network, but the network is also the essential thing for the professional herself.

'yes...it is evidently an advantage in relation to my job here, that I could draw on – at that time – 10-20 years of experience in the field, and I have had their accept, one can say. And this also been a real advantage to [employer/attraction] in the process, where we should catch up with the others, that there has been goodwill. In other words: This is also what I brought with me, network and goodwill' (S:9 (p.52))

'Mobile specialists' in this way are connectors and gate keepers, selling themselves also with their strategic assets in networking and goodwill. This kind of 'capital' is both formal and informal. It means that you can always approach somebody in another place to get help and advice. You know where those with most competence in very specific matters can be found. Biologists, animal keepers, historians and archaeologists are not much different in this sense. They are members of mobile 'nerdish' communities, always ready to help via a system of a kind of generalised reciprocity facilitated by the engagement in the job, almost always also the prime hobby. Also exchange programs in their education as well as trade union conferences, builds networks activated later on

'...and I have the number to the two guys that I worked with over there. And at any time I can phone them and ask for advice, so now I largely have contacts in all zoos – at least in the bigger ones. Eh, this is really terrific ('*fedt*') and those contacts, you should remember to use them. It is not something one used do before hands, it is something with the new course class, going for this – it is OK to phone others, not a failure...' (T: 24 (p. 53))

Animal keepers with a specific problem thus takes their mobile and phone a student mate in another zoo to get advice, since they may have more experience in this field, with this animal species or the like. For animal keepers this *networking* activity is not only instrumental in finding solutions to pressing problems in taking care of animals, but is also a source of *identity*. Networks – often via the always proximate mobile – become a part of both their professional and personal identity. Networking enables the constant re-formation of identity, since it significantly contributes to sense make in everyday life. Networks are also the routes along which jobs are occupied, since everybody tends to know who fits where. These networks have very little to do with local or regional areas, apart from the few local work mates of the same profession, with whom networks are shared.

Stereotypes about flat and boring Lolland, full of alcoholics and the like, are discussed among ‘mobile specialists’. But being interviewed, they may stress lack of entrepreneurship as seen above (expressed among the higher educated), but also a sense of solidarity, expressing how things are not as bad, as people say. Here it more becomes a question of what it means to be an in-mover.

‘...one gets very dependant on one’s colleagues, also as friends, and we are a very young team, there are really many young people here, so it is clear that we do all kind of things together in the evening. But sometimes, you also really need not seeing your colleagues, eh, since you see then all day long, and if then also have to see at night – It is great (*‘fedt’*) sometimes, it can be we are doing fine together, but you also need to get to know somebody, who has nothing to do with your work place...’ (T:11 (p.68))

Such considerations may lead to engagements with local sports clubs and other associations, but they do not need to be a kind of only defensive coping strategy. It is a kind of active coping in order to sustain a variety of impulses in everyday life. As can be seen in the next quote, this may be within a horizon where the city of Copenhagen is in no way the alternative to strive for.

‘But in the city, meaning Copenhagen, it is not at all me. I get claustrophobia from all these people. At one time, I wanted to stop and lace my laces in the street, and I was about to being over ridded, for people they do not expect that you stop and lace your laces; then you need to get aside. There is total traffic also in the pedestrian crossings – it was this way – I could not at all cope (*‘overskue’*) with this’ (T:13 (p.68))

The missing capacity to cope in the streets of the city is here spoken out as a kind of metaphor for the advantages of provincial life, where it matters less if you come from the place or not. It is city life that is different. And via this kind of othering, a certain kind of sense of belonging to Lolland is construed. – Among mobile specialists, it is not easy to generalise such opinions; also the attractiveness of certain towns such as Nykøbing F. (the centre of Lolland-Falster) is evaluated very differently. But evaluation goes on, since many of the ‘mobile specialists’ are always considering where it is best to live. Some have chosen to live half way from Copenhagen, since it enhances the labour markets opportunities for their whole household. Others are commuting up to four hours a day (almost two hours each way from Copenhagen), and among those there can be considerations of whether to move ‘down’ to Lolland or Falster. ‘Mobile specialists’ with their mobile identifications and job orientation are thus very important professional resources to attract, but they do not need to be entrepreneurs for local

and regional development on the other side. Their importance lies – at least in the first round – in the professional performance in innovating and networking attractions.

A few words on ‘Settlers’

There are those moving to Lolland to buy a house, they can afford, and then later on becoming employed in the tourism business. Our interview material only had one case of this, why it is problematic saying much about such a coping mode in regard to their meaning for tourism and regional development. This coping mode is constituted in coping with the problems in finding houses affordable in the Greater Copenhagen area. Much ambivalence on having moved to Lolland is often expressed (see Bærenholdt and Jensen, 2008: 71-73). It is obvious that jobs in tourism are among those possible to take in the local labour market, along side ‘locals’. It is important to remember the presence of ‘settlers’ as part of the overall picture. Further investigations would also qualify what among ‘locals’ were called those people from Copenhagen moving into old houses – since settlers, having been hit by ‘social events’ or not, may present a creative resource in unexpected ways.

Conclusion

Having analysed the four coping modes (and having just mentioned ‘settlers’) along the dimensions of innovation, networking and formation of identity, it has become obvious that there are very different coping modes involved in making tourism work on Lolland. Across our interview material there maybe a general difference between the three attractions chosen, always valid for attractions as such. Lalandia is far less an attraction building on the professional dissemination of knowledge, than is the case in the Medieval Centre or increasingly also Knuthenborg. Therefore it is not only coincidence that our interviewees at Lalandia were most ‘locals’ and especially many ‘young mobile locals’; this is also the group Lalandia seek to employ for frontline service jobs. Contrary to this, the Medieval Centre and Knuthenborg, though they have their fast foods services and the like, also employ people in more professional positions, attracting although only a few ‘mobile specialists’. Furthermore, especially at the Medieval Centre (but also possible at Knuthenborg in catering services) ‘local project makers’ play an essential role. In this sense the different coping modes people live are also conditioned by the different kinds of business. There are in other words, certain conditions of existence (like with modes of life, Højrup, 1983) associated with certain coping modes. But importantly this goes both ways: Coping Modes also shape businesses.

The coping modes analysed can be ordered in different ways, but as indicated in their ‘naming’, issues of being local or mobile are central. ‘Locals’ are first and foremost people coping with challenges from the position that this is where they live with house, networks, family and the like. At the opposite, ‘mobile specialists’ are mostly concerned with their professional job performance, and even if they live locally, their main attachments and networks go far away, this being also instrumental to the attractions where they work. Besides these two, two other coping modes were more hybrid in terms of local attachment and mobility. The coping modes of ‘young mobile locals’ (or ‘young local mobiles’) have distinct characteristics associated with being a youngster living in more than place, and this produce another tension and productivity than what might be the case for a youngster from Copenhagen. Their life situation creates a certain kind of living on the route, also facilitating new networks and connections. Then ‘local project makers’ is a significant coping mode

among people that have so to say changed their life by means of engaging in attraction development, thereby also opening and drawing on more mobile networks, while staying to be a local. The crucial differences between coping modes are in their way of governing mobilities, their 'governmobilities'.

Drawing on insights from studies of both mobility (Urry and others) and of governmentality (Foucault and others), I have suggested the concept of 'governmobility' to conceptualize how connections are governed by way of people's own self-governance thereby producing orders (Bærenholdt, 2008). The concept of 'coping modes', proposed in the present article based on empirical findings, can then be developed as a variety of types of 'governmobility'. Here, the coping modes of 'locals' and 'mobile specialists' – and maybe also 'settlers' – are the more simple ones, in some sense the extremes, easier to explain. Against this, the two more complex coping modes – of 'young, mobile locals' and 'local project makers' – have more hybrid or mixed forms of obligations. Furthermore they are much driven by commitments of various forms, assemblages of obligations, since they are coping with in fact rather 'constraint' scapes or routes of mobility.

The way of coping with mobility – this kind of 'governmobility' – is different from those of both 'locals' and 'mobile specialists'. They are not resting, nor are they restless; they are living with possibilities as they occur, forming practices making sense to them selves. The 'drifting nature' of both 'young mobile locals' and 'local project makers' I then argue is the feature, which makes both of these coping modes playing central broker roles in regional development. They are not strategic 'mobility-users'; they are exposed to mobilities, coping as well as they can as a kind of 'way-finders'. Their coping with mobility is creative by way of keeping situations fluid, thus open to new unpredictable outcomes.

Since the interview material and the method applied do not allow any kind of empirical generalisation, the following discussion on how the various coping modes contribute to regional development is a discussion on principles. In other words: An attempt at theorising the practices and processes at play.

The *innovative* dimensions of all coping modes lie in the abilities to make tourist attractions work. Most important in this contribution is to work with the *intensity of the site of experience* itself. How employees eagerly perform their work in order to enhance experience quality among visitors and how they also earn crucial forms of personal recognition for this effort. Here in the 'heart of performative work' we find most prominently the 'young mobile locals' and the 'local project makers', since these coping modes are characterised by seeking personal reward through doing the job in ways, visitors enjoy. Of course this effort can also be found among 'locals' (for example doing enactment or service work) and among 'mobile specialists' (for example professional presenters), but it seems to be more constitutive in making 'young mobile locals' and 'local project makers' cope. The effects on regional development from this cannot be measured, but there is no doubt that visitors' perception of the people they encounter is central to further tourism development. In other words: Performative work is central in creating attractive tourist places, and here place is meant in the very proximate sense of encounter.

Second comes *connective practices*, where everybody contributes but in different ways. 'Mobile specialists' possess qualifications and networks among very few people and these seem to be very important assets for innovation and creativity. However, this is difficult to judge, and it is for sure that the daily networking of 'locals' locally, among youngsters across

distances and among project makers with their co-makers in other places, can be as important to stabilise and make things work. Also innovating and networking efforts, less tied up with formation of identity, can be productive, whether this is intentional or not. This is even more difficult to evaluate than the more apparently visible intensity practice mentioned first.

Then comes *innovative policies* which is about the engagement for making 'us' locally better in attracting tourists, via making nicer environments. Here 'locals' can play a key role, due to their commitment to the future of an area, where they are going stay anyhow. There is also a certain kind of collective ethos of this effort which will be found in many places, but it may be stronger and of a certain character on Lolland.

In addition to these innovation practices, networking and formation of identity also facilitates regional development, and some of these strengths has already been mentioned above in terms of innovation. But there is also the absolutely crucial day-to-day making of the *social fabric and meaning of life*, where everybody – and every coping mode - contribute in their way. The analysis has shown the ways in which people shape a life with tourists, where they are not first of all coping *with* tourists – but rather use tourism practices to cope with various kinds of marginalisation and ambivalence. Much essential coping are performed in these everyday practices, aiming at securing social reproduction. Also for this reason, it is maybe worthless to try to discriminate which of coping modes are the more important ones.

However, regional development is also about the *economic survival of vital businesses*. Few decisions about such issues are anymore taking locally at the major employer Lalandia, having very large regional development impact. At the other end, the Medieval Centre with its long story of social innovation and social entrepreneurship represents of what 'local project makers' can be able to do, when entrepreneurial but also humble in their way of making things work. This is vulnerable business, in terms of how it works economically and with people personally. Though only few are directly involved as employed, the amount of indirectly committed persons – voluntary workers etc. - is so large, that it is really important to understand how such projects can be stabilised, politically, socially and economically. In some ways, the 'mid' case of Knuthenborg is the less vulnerable. Its attraction is unique, the economic backbone is diverse, though animals move, the park cannot be moved, and the amount of engagement is considerable. Could the Medieval Centre come into a similar future situation, would it then miss the engagement and intensity of 'local project makers'? Could the Medieval Centre maybe gain more from 'young mobile locals' than it does today? And would Lalandia have anything to win by pursuing a route into more professional knowledge presented?

Besides raising such questions for the future, this paper has pointed to the complexities of the 'governmobilities' involved in different 'coping modes', coping with mobility in different ways. Among the contributions from these coping modes to tourism and regional change the most interesting seems to be the ways in which 'young mobile locals' and 'local project makers' - each of them in their way – play key role in making experience sites. With tourism, regional development is becoming more and more a question of the performance of rather 'small' intensive tourist places, provided that these are well connected and accessible. These nexuses of intensity and connectivity depend on the performance among people living, especially some particular hybrid, coping modes.

An earlier version of this paper was presented to the Cultural Production and Experience Conference, organised by the Centre for Experience Research, Roskilde University, Roskilde, 13-14 November 2008. Thanks for comments at this occasion..

REFERENCES

AARSÆTHER, N. and BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. (2001): 'Reflexive local development: Coping strategies in a globalized environment', in AARSÆTHER, N. and BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. (eds.): *The Reflexive North*. Nord: 2001:10, Nordic Council of Ministers, Copenhagen.

AMIN, A. (2004): 'Regions unbound: Towards a new politics of place', *Geografiska Annaler* 86B: 33-44.

AURE, M. (2001): 'Innovative traditions?: Coping processes among households, villages and the municipality', in AARSÆTHER, N. and BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. (eds.): *The Reflexive North*. Nord: 2001:10, Nordic Council of Ministers, Copenhagen.

BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. (1991): *Bygdeliv: Livsformer og Bosætningsmønster i Nordatlanten*, PhD Thesis, Research Reports no. 78, Publikationer fra Institut for Geografi, Samfundsanalyse og Datalogi, Roskilde University, Roskilde.

BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. (1998): 'Locals versus Mobiles: Explaining different dynamics in North Atlantic Localities', in AARSÆTHER, N. and BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. (eds.): *Coping Strategies in North: Local Practices in the Context of Global Restructuring*, INS 1998:303, Nordic Council of Ministers, Copenhagen.

BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. (2007): *Coping with Distances: Producing Nordic Atlantic Societies*, Berghahn Books, Oxford.

BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. (2008): 'Mobility and territoriality in making societies: Approaching "governmobility"', paper to the European Urban and Regional Studies Conference, Istanbul, 18-21 September (<http://diggy.ruc.dk:8080/retrieve/10966>).

BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. and AARSÆTHER, N. (1998): 'Coping strategies in the North', in AARSÆTHER, N. and BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. (eds.): *Coping Strategies in North: Local Practices in the Context of Global Restructuring*, INS 1998:303, Nordic Council of Ministers, Copenhagen.

BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. and AARSÆTHER, N. (2002): 'Coping strategies, social capital and space', *European Urban and Regional Studies* 9: 151-165.

BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. and AURE, M. (2007): 'Tværfaglighed og sammenligning på tværs mod nord', in NYSETH, T.; JENTOFT, S.; FØRDE, A. and BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. (eds.) *I Disiplinenes Grenseland*, Fakkbokforlaget, Bergen.

BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. and HALDRUP, M. (2003): 'Economy-culture relations in geographies of regional development', in ÖHMAN, J. and SIMONSEN, K. (eds.) *Voices from the North: New Trends in Nordic Human Geography*, Ashgate, Aldershot.

BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. and JENSEN, H.L. (2007): 'The Medieval Centre: Social innovation in heritage tourism', in SØRENSEN, A. and SUNDBO, J. (eds.) *Cases from the Experience Economy*, Centre for Experience Research, CELF, Nykøbing F. and Roskilde University, Roskilde, electronic publication: <http://cof.ruc.dk/download/Casebook.pdf>

BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. and JENSEN, H.L. (2008): *Oplevelsesarbejde på Lolland*, En rapport fra CEUS/EU projektet 'Oplevelsesøkonomi og regional udvikling på Lolland: Beskæftigelse, Livsformer og Stedstransformation', MOSPUS Research Papers 2008:1, Roskilde University, Roskilde, electronic publication: <http://diggy.ruc.dk:8080/retrieve/9686>

BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. and JENSEN, H.L. (forthcoming): 'Performative work in tourism', *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*.

BÆRENHOLDT, J.O. and SUNDBO, J. (eds.)(2007): *Oplevelsesøkonomi: Produktion, Forbrug, Kultur*, Samfundslitteratur, Copenhagen.

BJØRN, C. (1999): *Knuthenborg Park: Danmarks største Herregårdspark og dens skabere*, Knuthenborg.

BOISEVAIN, J. (1996, eds.): *Coping with Tourists: European Reactions to Mass Tourism*. Berghahn Books, Providence.

BOURDIEU, P. (1977): *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

BUCIEK, K. (1996): *Fra Problem til Metode*, Roskilde Universitetsforlag, Frederiksberg.

CRANG, P. (1994): 'It's showtime: On the workplace geographies of display in a restaurant in southeast England', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12: 675-704.

CRANG, P. (1997): 'Performing the tourist product', in ROJEK, C. and URRY, J. (eds.) *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, Routledge, London.

FLORIDA, R. (2002): *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Basic Books, New York.

GERNER NIELSEN, E. (1992): *Folk og Museer: Erfaringer fra museumsinitiativer støttet af kulturfonden*. Udviklingscentret for folkeoplysning og voksenundervisning, Copenhagen.

HJALAGER, A.M. (1987): *Livsformer på Lolland: Et forprojekt om dagligliv, arbejdsløshedstrategier og erhvervsfremme*, Rapport nr. 3, Planstyrelsen, Copenhagen.

HØJRUP, T. (1983): *Det Glemte Folk: Livsformer og centraldirigering*, Statens Byggeforskningsinstitut, Hørsholm.

ILLERIS, S. (2007): 'Om økonomiske og sociokulturelle dimensioner i regional udviklingsteori og udviklingspolitik', in BUCIEK, K.; BÆRENHOLDT, J.O.; HALDRUP, M. and PLØGER, J. (eds.) *Rumlig Praksis*, Roskilde Universitetsforlag, Frederiksberg.

LÆRKEGÅRD, N.; OLDIN, K. and BENTSEN, H.C. (2006, eds.): *Historien om Lalandia*, published by editors, Rødby.

MEGED, J. W. (1999): Institutionaliserings af turisme som udviklingsstrategi i udkantsområder: en caseopgave om EU-støttede turistprogrammer på Lolland, Cand. Merc. Int. Master Thesis, Copenhagen Business School, Copenhagen (not published).

NORDFELDT, M. and STENBACKA, S. (2008): 'Regionalpolitikens lokala avtryck', in ANDERSSON, F.; EK, R. and MOLINA, I. (eds.) *Regionalpolitikens Geografi: Regional tillväxt i teori og praktik*, Studentlitteratur, Lund.

SELWYN, T. (1996): 'Postlude', in BOISEVAIN, J. (eds.): *Coping with Tourists: European Reactions to Mass Tourism*. Berghahn Books, Providence.

SIMONSEN, K. (2005): *Byens Mange Ansigter: Konstruktion af Byen i Praxis og Fortælling*, Roskilde Universitetsforlag, Frederiksberg.

SØRENSEN, O.B. and VOGELIUS, P. (1988): *Skibsværftsarbejdere uden Værft*, GeoRUC, Roskilde.